

PRELIMINARY STUDY ON BURIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HARINGEN

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Abstrak. STUDI AWAL KARAKTERISTIK PENGUBURAN HARINGEN. Tinggalan arkeologis yang ditemukan di situs mencerminkan perilaku manusia masa lalu mencoba untuk menyesuaikan diri dengan lingkungan sekitarnya. Dengan demikian, terdapat hubungan yang erat antara pemilihan calon lokasi kegiatan dan strategi manusia untuk memenuhi kebutuhan dasarnya. Di antara situs-situs di Kalimantan di bagian tengah yang mengindikasikan potensi untuk menggambarkan adanya tradisi yang bertahan dengan berbasis agama peradaban masa lalu adalah Haringen. Sampai dengan saat ini, salah satu tradisi yang menunjukkan kontinuitas budaya tua adalah penguburan. Dalam penelitian ini, upaya mengidentifikasi karakteristik Situs penguburan Haringen dilakukan melalui pendekatan etnoarkeologi. Berdasarkan analisis analogis data etnografi komunitas Maanyan yang berdiam di Haringen sekarang, didiskusikan dalam artikel ini tentang perilaku manusia masa lalu di Haringen tentang manajemen kematian, baik yang menyangkut karakter teraba maupun tak teraba. Hasilnya berupa asumsi bahwa karakteristik penguburan Haringen merupakan implementasi dari konsep kepercayaan Kaharingan, yang pada dasarnya dikembangkan dari konsepsi religius masa prasejarah yaitu, periode ketika konsep pemujaan leluhur mulai berkembang dan lebih berkembang lagi dengan munculnya konsep 'axis mundi', yang kemudian diwujudkan dalam bentuk struktur punden berundak.

Kata kunci: Kaharingan, rarung, Paju Sepuluh, sistem penguburan, marabia, pemujaan nenek-moyang

Abstract. *The archaeological remains discovered in a site reflect past human behavior attempting to adjust oneself with one's surrounding environment. Thus, there should have been a close relationship between choosing a prospective activity location and human's strategy to fulfill one's basic needs. Among the sites in the central region of Kalimantan, which indicate the potency to depict the occurrence of a persisting religious-based-tradition of past civilization, is Haringen. Until now, one of the traditions which still show the continuity of old culture is burial. In regard to this research, the effort to identify the characteristics of Haringen burial was carried out by using ethno-archaeological approach. Based on analogical analysis on ethnographic data of the Maanyan communities who reside in Haringen today, the discussion was focused on past human behavior in Haringen concerning death management, both involving tangible and intangible features. Therefore, I assume the Haringen burial characteristic is an implementation of the concept of Kaharingan belief, which is principally, founded from religious concepts occurred in prehistoric period; a period when the concept of ancestor worship was initially developed and elaborated with the concept of 'axis mundi', which is materialized in form of terraced structures.*

Keywords: *Kaharingan, rarung, Paju Sepuluh, burial system, marabia, ancestor worship*

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A. Introduction

Among the archaeological sites in the central region of Kalimantan, Haringen indicates the potency of culture and history which may enhance the understanding of the development of the ideo-religious ideas of people in the past. Such ideas may be evident either from the material or immaterial culture that arrived to us today. The most observable feature of Haringen's ideo-religious ideas is burial. Such interest to study burials is driven by inquisitiveness about past human perspectives on death. Furthermore, the characteristic of burial system may present significant information about human behavior and the social and complexity of the community.

The (Dayak) Maanyan's¹ perspective on death is related very closely to their mortuary behavior and show a phenomenon of continuous preservation of old tradition (Kusmartono 2008, 50). The Haringen people regard death as a departing point of the soul of the dead to the afterlife, and their burials give material form to their concepts of death and afterlife. And even today, the Haringen people still perform their mortuary practices and construct burials with reference to their belief system, the *Kaharingan*, and concepts of the afterlife. The study of death management of the Haringen is important, since it provide substantial information that can be used to reconstruct social, economic, political or religious aspects of human life in the past.

A question arised based on the understanding above is: what is the burial characteristic of Haringen site? Such question develops as an effort to: 1) understand the conception of the universe and death of the contemporary Haringen community; 2)

comprehend the analogical interpretations which may describe the old Haringen community with respect to their burial traditions; and 3) interpret the burial characteristics of Haringen. The objectives of this research is thus to understand the Haringen burial characteristic and system of ideas (religion and customs) which occurred in the past.

The characteristic of archaeological sites can be distinguished in several categories based on the remains of past human activities such as workshops, mining, hunting, settlements, worships, and burial. Among these categories, burial site is the most interesting subject to study, because its characteristic provides a complex picture of human strategies to materialize one's ideo-religious ideas upon the inhabited landscape or environment. Koentjaraningrat (1996, 7) asserts behavior as a form of ideas or values which have been deeply rooted in society is the form of culture which cannot change easily. In regard to the people of Haringen which constantly refer to their belief system, the *Kaharingan*, and concepts of death and the afterlife, Carr (1995, 107) affirms the ideas of "philosophical-religious factors" that support a society's assumption of such concepts as the universe, death and the afterlife. On the other hand, Mytum (2004, 145; Pearson 2003, 28) suggests although potent atributes of mortuary are sustained, the dynamic quality of mortuary behaviour may induce a change.

A burial site may provide information with respect to stages of human civilization which relate to the burial culture in question. Thus, the remains of archeology as indications of land use in the past, is assumed as a representation of human ideas, behaviors and

¹ *Kaharingan* adherents, migrated from their homeland around the Patai and Pupukan Basins

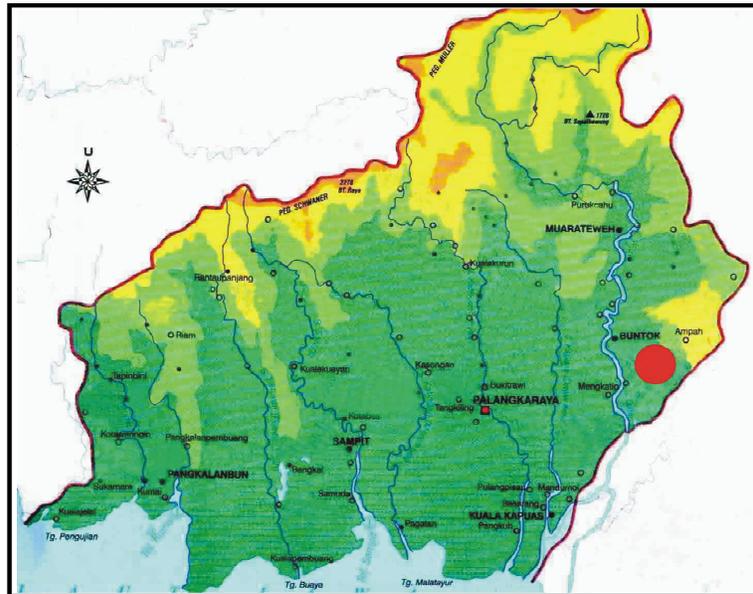


Figure 1. Haringen site (red dot)

actions of the past. Hodder and Orton (1976, 30) states that location (place) marked by remnants of human activity left by a particular community can often indicate the characteristic of a site. In regard to burials, an aggregation of remains of human activity which may be considered as indicators are for instance human skeleton, charcoal or ash, grave goods, pits of interment or burial containers or burial repository and remains of offerings. Such factors provide the foundation that supports the interpretation of burial system of Haringen.

The site of Haringen is located approximately 10 kilometers to the east of the Barito River or 250 meters to the southeast of Sirau River², which lies in a lowland to the northeast of the Barito Basin in the western valley of Meratus Mountain (Figure 1; Plate 1). The method used in this study is a

combination of inductive and descriptive³ reasoning. The observed data were material culture found on surface, spatial contexts and surrounding environment within the administrative zone of Haringen Village⁴, which then were recorded by means of photographs and diagrams. Subsequently, the detailed descriptions of the collected data are generalized and synthesized in order to explain the characteristics of burials.

This analysis is supported by information on the identity of the Haringen, obtained from ethno-historical accounts through literature research and through personal communication with local people. The personal communication was intended primarily to collect various information on historical-cultural development of Haringen, belief system associated with religious ceremonies, funerals and paraphernalia and

² tributary of Barito River

³ classification, interpretation, analysis and explanation

⁴ in the Municipal of Dusun Timur, Barito Selatan District in the Province of East Kalimantan

social environment. Such information may help to understand the process of cultural transformation which had been formed and we know today. The overall result was used to answer questions on the form of burials in the research area.

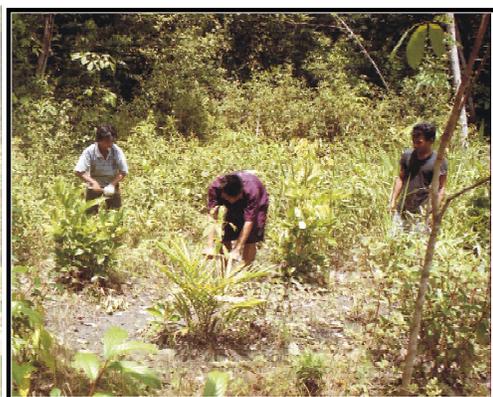


Plate 1. Haringen site (source: Balai Arkeologi Banjarmasin)

B. Haringen

1. Ethno-history and nature

According to the late Maan Wada⁵, after the collapse of the Kingdom of Nansarunai in the 14th century, the community of old Haringen, the *Kaharingan* adherent, had

moved from their homeland around the Patai and Pupukan Basins to build villages a number of times⁶. During the existence of the last village, namely the Baras Ruku, a disagreement occurred between the leaders of customary law (*Uria*) and the government figures (*Patih*)⁷ resulting the dispersion of each of their followers to seek a new settlement site. One of the leaders of customary law, Uria Warung, found a new location in the upper-stream region of the Barito River, around the River Sirau⁸. The location was called Murung Kaliwen⁹. In the subsequent period, the village administration was run by descendant of Uria Warung, Patinggu Jumu. It is told that Patinggi Jumu has two grandchildren, Sayu and Tanruk, who were asked by the Sultan of Banjar to fight against the Dutch¹⁰. The Sultan of Banjar awarded social title in return for their services; the title 'Dammung Singaraja' to Sayu¹¹ and 'Dammung Singakarana' or Panglima Rarawai Madintang' to Tanruk¹². On the otherhand, the Dutch's reaction upon Sayu and Tanruk's action was burning down Candi Agung and the village of Murung Kaliwen¹³.

After Murung Kaliwen was destroyed, the villagers built a new village approximately 200

⁵ informant: 68 years old (2009)

⁶ sequentially, the villages which was built were located in Gunung Rumung, Katuping Balah, Wamman Sabuku, Candi Agung, Candi Laras, Patukangan, Labuhan Amas, Bakumpay Lawas, Ulah Banyu, Tanggang, Maniungku, Abun Alas, Muara Binsu, Danau Salak, Dangka Nangkaii, Kupang Sunnung, Danaukien, Tuntang Alu, and Baras Ruku

⁷ There are seven figures of Uria and twelve figures Uria Patih

⁸ previously known as Patai River

⁹ In Maanyan language: *murung* connotes of land sandwiched between two rivers; *kaliwen* is a local spesies of tree-bearing-fruit

¹⁰ Then, the Dutch soldiers were called Marsusi

¹¹ Official banner is yellow; this figure is buried in the village of Murung Kaliwen, and respected by the villagers of Haringen as 'Unknown Hero'

¹² Its official banner is red

¹³ The legend tells that there are about 100 dwellings burned in Murung Kaliwen. This event is remembered in the form of verse (wailing): *kaliwen haut galis rakitapuy mangis murung jarah sia tutung wuwungan jatuh galis jarih abu rampan riwu jarah janang inu* which means 'kaliwen was up in flames, the mangosteen plant was destroyed, a hundred homes gone to ashes, all destroyed'

meters to the north -on the Sirau Basin-named, Ruga. Ruga was governed by the son of Sayu, Dammung Timau, which was subsequently continued by his grandson, Dammung Sabakung. During Dammung Sabakung's reign, the villager suffered sampar sarit madintang or a plague¹⁴, hence they had to move to a new site. The new location on Sirau River, and flanked by Pungur River. Long afterwards, Haringen was altered to Haringen.

Haringen today is a village inhabited by the majority of Maanyan and migrants from Java. The village management is divided between the *Dammung*¹⁵ as the village's regulator of customary law, and the *Pambakal*¹⁶ as the village's administrator. Ariun¹⁷ reports there was strict division of social structure amongst the Haringen community in the past comprising: 1) *Dammung*, the nobility; 2) *Patinggi*, the intellectuals; 3) *Tamanggong*, warriors; 4) *Ranga*, traders; 5) *Mangko*, farmers; 6) *Wira*, commoners, and 7) *Walah sanakai*, messengers or slave. Nevertheless, presently, such social stratification does not exist anymore. Current classification is emphasized on the functions of each member of community, which is divided into two groups i.e. leaders and commoners. The leaders of the community are divided into administrative leaders and traditional leaders; the

administrative leader is the village head or *Pembakal*, which is responsible for managing and overseeing the welfare of the villagers. The traditional leaders are divided based on their task in the community; the *Dammung* and *Penghulu Adat* acts as custom advisor, and *Balian*¹⁸ as custom practitioner (Sjarifuddin 1996, 20; Riwut and Husein 1993, 40).

2. Belief and death

The original belief of the Haringen community is Kaharingan¹⁹. Riwut dan Husein (1993, 110) asserts Kaharingan has been delivered orally and hereditarily studied from one generation to the other. Kaharingan adherents believe that every object bears a spirit that may assist or destroy the living (animism, dynamism). In the creation myth of heaven and earth and human for instance, the Kaharingan teachings acknowledge the tree of life (*Batang Garing*) generates the concept of balance the 'yin' and 'yang'. Such concept is also identified as an inseparable unity of dualism of balance, such as male-female, night-day, light-dark, and top-down, which is manifested in the cosmological, social, ethical, and religious life of the adherents (Riwut 1993, 70).

The belief system of Kaharingan does not recognize the concept of hell or reincarnation (Mihing 1977/1978, 20). The manifestation of human life is represented in the daily manner

¹⁴ in Maanyan language: *sampar sarit madintang* connotes to liver disease

¹⁵ The order *Dammung* and *Pahulu (Penghulu)* who practiced the customary law in Haringen among others were DammungKalula, Dammung Dipa, Dammung Nanyan, Dammung Langkereu, Pahulu Wanti, Pahulu Babandi

¹⁶ In Maanyan language: *pambakal* means village head; sequentially, the village heads of Haringen were Kakah Gamer, Paduwang, Pamasin, Bukaman, Pa Ringan, Kudu, Pintai, Oeung Amat, Simson Batajik Ngadal, L. IgaNaim, HatanTuir, Dumat Kirab, and Ariun(village head during 2000)

¹⁷ informant: 51 years old

¹⁸ (free translation: shaman); divided into ones relating to aspects of life such *Balian Bawo*, *Dadas*, *Dusun*, *Bana* and *Amunrahu*, and ones relating to death, *Wara* and *Balian Matei*

¹⁹ 90 % of the people are Kaharingan adherents, while the other 10 % are Christian and Moslem

of the Kaharingan adherents known as custom. The custom of Kaharingan acknowledge a life depending on nature; thus the balance of nature (cosmos) must be maintained. If the natural balance is disturbed, then human life is also disrupted (Kutojo *et.al* 1979, 20; Mihing 1977/1978, 30). The Kaharingan adherents believe the world and everything in it is the creation of *Talla Manna Tuah Hukat Tuhan Nguasa Allah Talla Ngaburiat*. The practice of Kaharingan is delivered with Hiang Language, which comprised of two working language: 1) *Bahasa Welum*, to convey a vow or gratitude and healing the sick, and 2) *Bahasa Matei*, used in death ceremonies to deliver the deceased into the spirit world.

The Haringen people who belongs to the sub-tribe of Ngaju, the Maanyan, practice a sub-division of Kaharingan, the custom of *Paju Sepuluh*²⁰ (Depdiknas no year, 10; PIKTYME 1993/1994, 15). The teachings in *Paju Sepuluh* are based on belief toward the *Hiang-Nanyo Piummung Saniang-Tunui Jiwata-Ngaliusen Manyalama*²¹ (Anonymous 1993/994, 17), which is believed to be taught since the days of the Sarunai Kingdom²². The *Hiang* is the spirit of the honorable *balian* and elders, whereas *Piummung* means enduringly guarding human against ill-fate and danger (Kusmartono 2006, 126). Thus, *Hiang Piummung* is the spirit that constantly exists in the custodian of every human being. The core

teachings of this tradition regard the source of creation, God the Almighty, human²³, universe, and perfection²⁴. Besides practicing daily life rituals, the *Paju Sepuluh* pay great attention on the implementation of death customary law. The customary law of death is the most important subject in the social life of the Kaharingan adherents, since it links with the doctrine of perfection, which is obtained in the afterlife. Thus, to achieve the state of perfection, a proper death treatment should be performed by carrying out a death ritual which is completed by a secondary burial (Kutojo 1979, 20; Mihing 1977/1978, 30).

The death management of the *Paju Sepuluh* community is carried out by performing a primary burial for a deceased individual in a *rarung*²⁵ and buried in an interment for as long as one until three days or one week or three months until a maximum of three years. There are two types of death ritual performed by the *Paju Sepuluh* community, *Ngadatun* and *Marabia*; however, the Haringen community performed *Marabia* (or *Mia*). The Haringen highly regards the performance of *Marabia* as an expression of devotion to their ancestors, which is one of the important teachings in Kaharingan. This doctrine perceives the concept of creating harmony between corporeal world and the spirit realm, and that the dead will always keep the welfare of the living. The death ceremony cost fairly large; therefore, the family of the deceased must be able to raise funds to perform the

²⁰ according to Hudson (1963, 40), the central area of *Paju Sepuluh* indigenous culture (in Maanyan language: Ten Villages) is Tamiang Layang and Jaar

²¹ 'God the Almighty who rules and protects'

²² during the 14th century, the kingdom Sarunai or Nansarunai had been attacked twice by the Majapahit Kingdom, which forced them to establish a new township named Batang Ranu Raya; then the new village was also abandoned due to the intensity of the spread of Islam in that area

²³ regards the doctrine of virtue, teachings of nobility, and fostering social life, embodied in the *Iraharen* ceremony

²⁴ *Hiang Piummung* diagram attached

²⁵ dug-out wooden coffin in a shape of a boat

ceremony and prepare grave goods²⁶. The *Marabia* graves resemble a terraced platform of reclaimed soil. Each terrace is retained by wooden planks on all four sides forming a rectangular mound, which smallest at the top. In associate to the length of *Marabia* ritual, the *Marabia* graves have three terraces. According to Maan Wada, *Marabia* death management is performed for highest castes i.e. the *Dammung*, *Patinggi*, and *Tamanggong*, while *Pakahanruweh*²⁷ is performed for lower caste. Burial ground is usually located surround the house of the family of the dead.

C. Archaeological remains

The width of Haringen site is approximately 396,500 square meter and divided into four quadrants i.e. north east (NE), south east (SE), south west (SW) and north west (NW). The site is located in a dense secondary forest, partly used for rainfed farming and intercropping cultivation and rubber plantations. Indications of burials were found in the NE, SW and NW. Maan Wada claimed the NE quadrant was the former settlement of Murung Kaliwen, which was burned by the Dutch, and Ruga was one kilometre to the north of Murung Kaliwen. During the occupation of Ruga, the Haringen used Murung Kaliwen as a cemetery. Maan Wada informed the Haringen performed only primary burial by storing the deceased in the *rarung*. Instead of burying the *rarung* underground, it is layed on ground surface and backfilled with soil until it formed a high mound

of soil. A number of *rarung* mounds were found in their natural form covered with vines and grown by huge trees; therefore, the shape and size of the *rarung* mound cannot be measured (Plate 2).



Plate 2. Burials in Murung Kelawen (source: Balai Arkeologi Banjarmasin)

Maan Wada reported a death ceremony, *mapuy*²⁸ (Plate 3), was performed in SW quadrant. Such report was confirmed by Ariun informing tomb raids by looters in search of precious grave goods²⁹. Discovered remnants of illegal activities were scattered on the surface comprising fragments of ceramics of brown or black-glazed, blue-white and celadon (Plate 4). There were 113 identifiable ceramic fragments. The identification of the ceramics was based on the attributes of material, color materials, decoration, decorative technique, color glaze, and tracks of manufacture. The ceramics were originated from foreign kilns of China (13th-20th century), Vietnam (14th century), and Europe (18th-19th century). The Chinese ceramics were produced during the reign of the Yuan

²⁶ customarily, grave goods consist of at least seven cornelian beads (agate) in red, green and yellow color; jewelry of rings and bracelets are usually added for female deceased individuals, while aji, knives and machetes for male individuals

²⁷ 'heap-shaped high-pile' reclaimed soil which contains *rarung*

²⁸ burning the dead's remains

²⁹ jewelry, weapons or household objects

(13th-14th century), Ming (15th-16th century) and Qing Dynasty (17th-18th century). Among the 113 fragments, 43 pieces or 38.05% is identified as Swatow-ware dated from the 15th-16th Century, and 1 blue-white bowl produced by the Fujian (or Guangdong) during the 17th-18th Century. Observation on ceramic profiles indicated their original shape of: (1) open containers i.e. bowls, plates, large and small saucers, glass, and jar cover; and (2) closed containers consisting of big and small jars.



Plate 3. Location of *mapuy* on SW quadrant (source: Balai Arkeologi Banjarmasin)



Plate 4. Remnant of Chinese ceramics (source: Balai Arkeologi Banjarmasin)

In NW quadrant was found a well-maintained terrace mound built in 1997. Another three-terraced mound was found on the yard of Ardiansyah's house; it is a

communal grave to house family remains, who were given *Marabia* ceremony in 1992. The main character buried in it is Temenggung Setia Raja³⁰ (Plate 5), the authority of Haringen in the past. Firman (local) reported that an illegal dig in 1986 had discovered approximately 50 burial jars (Wasita 2002, 13) of various sizes bearing beads, small blade, bracelet and ceramic pillbox. He also informed that the jars were found arranged in clusters; one cluster consist of a number of smaller black or yellow ones encircled a large yellow one. Such clusters were found aligning north-south and east-west in an interval of 3 meters. Unfortunately, the 2001 excavation discovered no traces of burials, except pottery shards, chunks of stone tools, and small amount of charcoal (Wasita 2002, 16-19).

D. Burial system

Burial is one of human social activities to fulfill one's religious aspect. The technical definition of burial is removing the corpse from the living environment to the grave, which is undertaken by performing a particular pattern of custom (Koentjaraningrat 1996, 30) based on one's culture. Therefore, there is energy and time expenditure involved in burial activity for transportation of stone materials performance, and only certain individuals in the community who is permitted to carry out the preparations undertaken in funeral ceremony³¹. Thus, a burial activity requires management and the division of labor, which involves close relatives or members of the community related to the deceased (Binford

³⁰ who was the next of kin to Temenggung JayaKarati buried in Tamiang Layang

³¹ group differentiation began to appear, especially for ceremony organizer or group associated with belief management

1972; Soejono 1977; Wiradnyana 2000) to assist performing the funeral ceremony. Such togetherness transpires a reciprocal relationship, which shows that religious activities are also conducted to fulfill social aspects for instance, prosperity, welfare and public safety, which is achieved by implementing the rights for ritual.

Strong linkage between the two aspects produces particular norms and practices designed to prevent individual or the community from endangering themselves. Spiritually, such template is based on a mind-set which regards the causal relationship between the dead and the living i.e. exceptional condition obtained by the dead in the afterlife depends on the death treatment performed by the living, which then affects the welfare of family of the deceased.

There are two aspects that mark the evolution of human's socio-cultural life in the the past, which thrived during the metal age i.e. the concept of ancestor worship and togetherness. The religious aspect indicated shown by the attitude towards life after death is the belief of strong influence on the journey of human life, whether individual or communal. Such mind-set requires the living to take notice and fulfill their obligations to their ancestors in the afterlife, which is carried out by way of paying tribute of complete offering for the dead to deliver their spirits to the afterlife.

Soejono (1993) explains the burial system in prehistoric period recognize two methods,

primary and secondary. Primary burial is performed by burying the deceased directly below ground in an interment either with³² or without container. Secondary burial is carried out by exhuming the corpse, undergone a series of death rituals and finally re-buried the skeleton either complete or partially³³ with or without container³⁴. Generally, the archaeological data that may indicate of secondary burials were burial-associated artefacts such as plain and decorated pottery, axe, jewelry, ceremonial staff and adze. However, Chang (1967) asserts further accurate form of prehistoric burial ritual is not yet known until today³⁵.



Plate 5. The grave of Temenggong Setia Raja (source: Balai Arkeologi Banjarmasin)

Secondary burial in Indonesia can be found in Anyer, Plawangan, Gilimanuk, Lesung Batu, Sa'bang, Melolo, Lombok, Mount Wingko, and Kayan-Mentarang Nature Reserve (Soejono 1993; Arifin 1994; Eghenter and Bernard Sellato 1999, Hartatik 2000). The physical nature of secondary burials found in

³² boat-like coffin

³³ for instance, skull and ribs

³⁴ jar or stone grave

³⁵ such assumption is inferred due to the implementation of ethnographic analogy for archaeological interpretation which limited to issues of technology and functional artifacts (techno-fact), while those relevant to the habit (socio-fact), ideas and beliefs (ideo-fact) can not be processed through the ethnographic analogy machine"

such areas was of stone, for instance dolmen, stone-slab coffin, stone chamber, *kalamba*, *waruga*, *keranda*, and the sarcophagus. On the surface of such structures are usually found grave decorations such as human faces (masks), lizard, or female genital³⁶ which symbolizes a relationship with the spirit realm and provide protection to the living (Ayatrohaedi 1986, 20) or represents a rebirth.

Another important aspect of prehistoric burials is grave goods. Types of grave goods usually found in archaeological digs were bronze objects such as trowel, bracelets, spiral decoration, metal objects such as a chisel, spearheads, cornelian or glass beads, of earthenwares, and sometimes gold trinkets (Soejono 1993, 30).

2. Haringen burial system

Marabia is a tradition of ancestor worship, which survives until today as mental template of the Haringen and also materialized as death structures. Apparently, the development of ancestor worship, a local manifestation of Indonesian belief, shows sustainable characteristic until today, despite the many religious-cultural influence inspired into Indonesian culture. For instance, the prehistoric structures of stone terrace, which was adopted as a sepulcher in the Moslem or Christian tombs found in South Sulawesi; the 150 meters high menhir-shaped tombstone marking a Moslem grave in Pulau Barang Lompo and Soppeng (South Sulawesi); the ceremonial stone structure, the *temugelang*, in Atambua (Timor);

Islamic tombs with dolmen-shaped offering altar in Central Flores; and honoring the elderly of the community with the title of *saniang* (*sang hyang*³⁷ or the spirit) for spiritual leaders of Islam and Christian.

The Haringen community practice the customary law of *Paju Sepuluh*. The most essential aspect of *Paju Sepuluh* to achieve perfection is the implementation of the customary law of death. In regard to the context of death, the process toward perfection is achieved by the removal of all sin during life to enable *amirue* (human spirit) to rise into the sky and become *hiang piummung*, which is able to revisit and provide security to the living. Therefore, providing a proper burial, *marabia*, for the deceased is a necessity. In addition, the external appearance of the terraced mound that resembles a mount indicating a conception rooted from the prehistoric times in respect of the idea 'axis mundi' or centre of the universe, which is recognized as the dwelling place of the great spirits, continuous until today and acknowledged as one of the basic elements of the Haringen's perspective of life.

Another enduring social and religious aspect observable until today is *gotong-royong* (togetherness), which is still apparent during the contemporary *marabia* ceremony. A substantial amount of budget is required to perform a *marabia* death ritual. Generally, such fund is provided by the family of the deceased individual, however, the function is carried out together in mutual assistance to do various tasks such as cleaning the arena to sacrifice

³⁶ on a sarcophagus from Bali (Soejono 1993, 20)

³⁷ source: Head of Malinau Customary Law

the buffalos, repairing the home of *tampuk tetei* (family the dead) and preparing the grave. The ritual process of *marabia* is supported by all members of villager regardless of race and religion.

The introduction of Hindu-Buddhist tradition during the 13th-14th century by means of, either religious propagation or trade, had made specific impact on the burial management of the Haringen people. The unison of two concept of believes was noticeable in the loanwords, which connote to 'high spirit' used in mantra (*chant*) recited during the death ritual, such as *hiang* or *saniang* (spirit) and *jiwata* (deity). Besides loanwords, Chinese ceramics were common technofact, which eventually became highly regarded as sociofacts or ideofacts, and considered as commendable grave goods.

During the 19th until early 20th century, Christianity arrived and further influenced the perspective of the Haringen community toward all aspects of life, including religion. Such is evident from the large quantity of community members who gradually embraced Christianity. However, the basic outlook on life of the Haringen endures and still dominated by Kaharingan pattern. Therefore, in reality, way of life of the Haringen ceaselessly, adheres to the traditions that have been ingrained and animates their daily lives. This is also evident from the loanwords used to describe their *Talla Manna Tuah Hukat Tuhan Nguasa Allah Talla Ngaburiat* (free translation: Almighty Who Rule the Universe). Such influence is observable also in wedding ceremony, which stipulates

the implementation of customary law Kaharingan prior to Christian blessing by a priest. However, apparent manifestation of Christianity in Haringen is the cross, which is erected on the terraced structure of Haringen burial.

Eventually, many elements of *Kaharingan* custom are adopted by the new religious believers, particularly Christians, by simply modifying the religious values (Sjarifuddin 1996, 35). Tolerance and good cooperation is reflected also in the death treatment of *marabia* by Kaharingan adherents assisted by the Moslem. Such assistance is particularly performed by slitting the sacrificial animal's neck³⁸.

E. Conclusion

The discovery of grave goods of foreign ceramic indicates Haringen was used as burial site at least since the 13th century. On the other hand, ethnographic data suggest this site has undergone various changes from settlement to burial site, and currently benefitted as a rubber plantation. Nevertheless, such information points out the enduring nature of Kaharingan belief upheld by its adherents, the Haringen community, and manifested in conception and ritual of death. Although Christianity has affected the daily life of the Haringen people, it is suggested that the principal belief is still rooted from religious concepts occurred in prehistoric period³⁹. A comparable characteristic is recognized from the concept of 'axis mundi' and the architectural nature of terraced structure,

³⁸⁾ water buffalo or boar (or domesticated pig) or goat

³⁹⁾ Neolithic and Palaeo-metalic period

which is acknowledged as the resident of the spirit of the ancestors or the Almighty.

The concept of ancestor worship is also a strong characteristic which influences the manifestation of burial system of the Haringen. Death is neither an interminable length of slumber nor the end of life; instead it is the beginning of a life. That is, after death, the spirit needs to return to the place of its origin and eternal life. Therefore, during living in the corporeal world, an individual must perform a good deed according to the teachings of one's ancestors.

Conclusively, the rapid growth and widespread of technology of communication indicated by the existence of television and satellite dishes in remote areas has generally, triggered changes in the way of life that do not necessarily lead to improvement. Such phenomenon is observable from the decreasing of oral tradition, which is full of

noble values taught from generation to generation. The concept and religious system, which is still practiced today by the Haringen community for example, is an ancestral heritage of thought, which is gradually becoming extinct. Today, the noble values are almost exclusively stored in the minds and memories of the elders who are increasingly diminishing in numbers, and the *Paju Sepuluh* custom of the Haringen community is not immune by the challenges of globalization. If there is no attempt to preserve and maintain noble-values-bearing oral tradition, it is not impossible that someday this tradition will gradually fade in time or even completely disappear. Therefore, it is important to recommend to further study the socio-cultural life of the Haringen (Maanyan) community, especially activities relating to obedience to tradition.

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